

THE AUTHOR'S DRAFT
OF NICOLAS CABASILAS'
"ANTI-ZEALOT" DISCOURSE IN
PARISINUS GRAECUS 1276

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I

1. SINCE the publication in these *Papers* of Nicolas Cabasilas' *Discourse Concerning Illegal Acts of Officials Daringly Committed Against Things Sacred*,¹ a new manuscript of this work has come to my attention.² It is contained in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, a miscellany, on fols. 65^r–87^r and 96^r–99^r. There the text of the *Discourse* appears anonymously under a different title: Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, *To the Powers That Be*. In Omont's *Inventaire*³ this treatise is attributed to the Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos. The difference in title and in attribution will explain why I was not aware of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* when preparing my edition of Cabasilas' *Discourse*.

Having examined this new witness, I do not propose to introduce any drastic changes in the text of my edition. But the *Parisinus Gr. 1276* is of great importance for the history of Cabasilas' text. I believe that in this manuscript we have a blending of two early versions of the *Discourse*, with changes, erasures, and additions by the author's own hand. I should also like to suggest that the *Parisinus* contains a hitherto unknown fragment by Cabasilas.

2. Folios 1^r–64^r of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* contain several works of Philotheus. The quires of this portion are numbered regularly from α to η (fol. 57). Both the numbering of quires and the type of paper change with folio 65^r, which is the first page of the *Discourse*. This folio has the quiremark α, an indication that originally this copy of the *Discourse* either was a separate entity or, conceivably, stood at the beginning of a larger manuscript. The two following quires of the *Discourse* are numbered regularly, β on fol. 73 and γ on fol. 81. Then there is some confusion: beginning with fol. 87 whole groups of folios are clearly out of order. The next quiremark is again an α; it appears on fol. 104^r, and coincides with the beginning of a part of Nicephorus Gregoras' *History*. This latter work is, then, another previously independent component of the *Parisinus*. Thus the portion of the *Parisinus* comprising, among other texts, the *Discourse* is not related to the folios which precede and follow it. We may now proceed to the analysis of that portion itself.

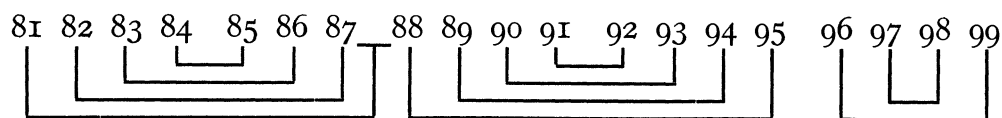
As the first two quires of the *Discourse* (fols. 65–80) are regular, I shall be chiefly concerned with the area of confusion, between fol. 81, on which quire γ begins, and fol. 99, which is the highest numbered folio containing the text

¹ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 91–125. Henceforth in quoting the *Discourse* I shall refer to paragraph and line of this edition.

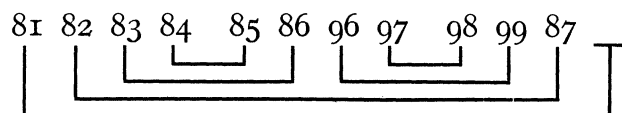
² Rev. Jean Meyendorff has called this manuscript to my attention and I wish to thank him for this information.

³ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (1886), 284.

of the *Discourse*. The present distribution of quires in this section of the *Parisinus* is as follows:

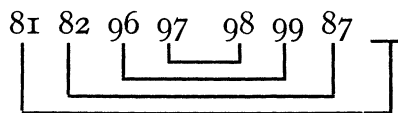


Folios 88–95, comprising one quire, contain the beginning of an anonymous treatise against Acindynus (its misplaced continuation starts on fol. 205^r), and are written by hands different from those of the *Discourse*. The whole quire was inserted into the *Discourse* by mistake, perhaps at the time when the present *Parisinus* was being made up.⁴ It may also have been on that occasion that fol. 87, the last leaf of the *Discourse*, got out of place. It belongs after fol. 99 (99^v εἰ δὲ καὶ || 87^r σοφοὶ τινες, cf. *Discourse*, 59,17). Before the *Discourse* was incorporated into the *Parisinus*, the arrangement of its final part was presumably as follows:



But fols. 83^r–86^v, forming a *binio*, while definitely a part of the *Discourse*, are a clean copy by a hand different from that which wrote the main text of the other folios. I shall call this latter hand A (cf. figs. 1–6, 8, 10); that of the *binio*, hand A^b (cf. figs. 7, 9). This *binio*, corresponding to *Discourse*, 41, 23–50,7, is an insertion, previous to the inclusion of this work into the *Parisinus*, but later than a certain stage in the formation of the text of the *Discourse*. That it is later can be deduced from the observation that fol. 82^v (by hand A) ends in a deleted half-word *τολμη-* (standing at the end of a long deleted passage, cf. fig. 6), while fol. 96^r (also by hand A) begins with the other half, *-θείσας* (cf. fig. 8), and fol. 86^v (last to be written by hand A^b) ends with *τολμη-* (cf. fig. 9). Compare *Discourse*, 50,7: *τολμηθείσας*. Also, the last legible word before the deleted passage on fol. 82^v is *δανείζοντες* (cf. fig. 6), while the first words of fol. 83^r (with which hand A^b begins) are *οὔτε τοίνυν* (cf. fig. 7). Compare *Discourse*, 41,23 *δανείζοντες. οὔτε τοίνυν*.

Thus originally fol. 82 was followed by fol. 96 without interruption, and before the insertion of the portion 41,23–50,7 by hand A^b, the final part of the *Discourse* was arranged as follows:



In other words, it was a *quaternio* with one stub, and the last of the three quires. At one time fols. 65–82; 96–99; 87 of *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, all written by

⁴ *Parisinus Gr. 1276* had its present form by the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This may be deduced from fol. 1^r, where one reads the ownership remark by Arsenius of Monembasia (Aristobulus Apostolides, 1465–1535). On Arsenius' chronology and the *scriptorium* to which he belonged, see, e.g., M. Wittek, "Manuscripts et codicologie," *Scriptorium*, VII (1953), esp. 290–96.

hand A, formed a continuous and probably independent whole, consisting of three quires and containing *Discourse*, 1—41,23; 50—60. I shall call this the First Version.

The First Version is the earliest fully preserved form of the *Discourse*. However, it is not the earliest attainable stage of its composition. The first quire of the *Discourse* (fols. 65–72) shows traces of editorial interference which occurred before the First Version acquired its final shape. The last eight and one-half lines of fol. 65^v are crossed out (cf. fig. 1). The first twelve lines of the next page are but an expanded variant of the deleted passage (cf. the collation below, *ad Discourse*, 3,9 with the text of the *Discourse*, 4,1/11). As many as six folios lying between 65 and 72, the first and the last in the quire, may have been replaced. That some reshuffling did occur between fols. 65 and 72 is apparent from the observation that the text in these two folios, which form a single sheet, is displaced by about two interlinear spaces downwards in comparison with that of the intervening fols. 66–71. I shall call fols. 65 and 72 the traces of the Earliest Stage.

While the insertion by hand A^b (fols. 83^r–86^v) presents a clean copy, the text written by A exhibits a large number of changes, long additions, rescriptions, erasures, and deletions, most of which are attributable to one hand, which I shall call A². This hand takes many liberties with the text. It changes νόμους πατοῦσι into λύουσι νόμους (1,1/2), σοφοῦ into Σολομῶντος (1,12), καλέσαι τολμήσης into καλέσης (34,24), γραφήν into αἰτίαν (39,10), and ἐπίσκοπον into ἱερέα (56,4); it crosses out four lines of the text and substitutes for them a much expanded version of the same content (cf. the collation below, *ad* 21,17 and fig. 10); it changes ἀφαιροῦνται into ἀφαιρούμενοι and adds a whole clause (cf. collation *ad* 4,3 and fig. 2); adds a long passage in the upper margin of fol. 72^v (cf. collation *ad* 21,5); another, a very long one, on the lower margins of fols. 75^v and 76^r (cf. collation *ad* 27,6 and figs. 3 and 4); it adds a sentence at the bottom of fol. 78^r (cf. collation *ad* 33,1 and fig. 5); it rewrites the words τοῦ συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν on the previous (and different) text (21,11 and fig. 10); it erases a whole line on fol. 82^v, then crosses out the remaining lines which follow (cf. collation *ad* 41,23 and fig. 6); it shortens the text by crossing out a single word (cf. collation *ad* 20,16), a group of words (cf. collation *ad* 59,22) or whole clauses (cf. collation *ad* 29,16 and fig. 4; 34,25; 38,27). I shall call the form of the *Discourse* which comprises the insertion by hand A^b (fols. 83^r–86^v) and the changes by hand A², the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version.

The insertion by A^b and the changes made by A² in the text written by A appear in the main body of *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and its contemporary *Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 681*—manuscripts on which I relied in editing the *Discourse*. Either these manuscripts took over the corrections by A², or some Byzantine scholar brought *Parisinus Gr. 1276* up to date by collating it with a model having essentially the same text as *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*. Deletions, hesitations, and stylistic corrections undertaken by A² within the added passages show that no model was involved. A corrector having a text of the type represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* before his eyes would copy what he saw;

he would not add, and then delete, the words ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομεῖν (cf. collation below *ad* 21,17 and fig. 10); write first μαστίλων and then μαστίξας (*ad* 27,15 and fig. 3); write λέγων, cross it out, and continue with οὕτω καλῶν (*ad* 27,19 and fig. 3); change διαφυγεῖν into διαπεσεῖν (*ad* 28,8 and fig. 4); or recast a whole passage in the marginal addition (cf. collation *ad* 28,1/2 and fig. 3). The Draft of the Second Enlarged Version is earlier than *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*.

The comparison between the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1213* (= P) and the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version (whether by hand A or A^b) shows a very considerable number of smaller textual differences, including differences in the choice of words; compare τοὺς μοναχοὺς P: τοῖς φροντισταῖς A (cf. collation, *ad* 4,2/3); κερδάνης ζητεῖς P: κερδάνοις σκοπεῖς A^b (*ad* 47,7). For some other instances, cf. collation *ad* 4,3; 7,1; 10,6; 13,14; 19,1; 23,5; 23,33/34; 28,19; 30,5; 41,7; 51,13 (all examples taken from the text written by A); 44,18; 48,18; 48,19 (examples taken from the text by A^b; the variants are understandably fewer in this portion, since it is a clean copy, already incorporating many of the author's corrections). We must, therefore, postulate an intermediate link, now lost, between the Draft of the Second Enlarged Version and the version represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* (and *Suppl. Gr. 681*). This link was a version of the *Discourse* into which further textual improvements were incorporated. I shall call it the Third Improved Version. As the improvements were minor, it is probable that they were made on the clean copy (also postulated) of the Second Enlarged Version. I shall therefore identify this corrected clean copy as the postulated link between the Draft of the Second Version and *Parisinus Gr. 1213*. The text represented by *Parisinus Gr. 1213* shall be called the Final Version. In all probability it is almost identical with the Third.

Omont dated the whole *Parisinus Gr. 1276* in the fifteenth century. But as this manuscript is a miscellany, questions of date arise for each of its individual components. In my opinion the folios of the *Parisinus Gr. 1276* comprising the Second Version of the *Discourse* were written before 1400.⁵ The available evidence does not contradict the proposed dating. The Draft of the Second Version is earlier than *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*, the earliest representatives of the Final Version, which date from about the middle of the fifteenth century.⁶ Hands A and A² of the Draft can easily be fourteenth-century hands (see figs. 1–6, 8, 10); hand A^b is more recent than A, but it, too, looks earlier than 1400 (see figs. 7 and 9).⁷ The watermarks confirm the attribution

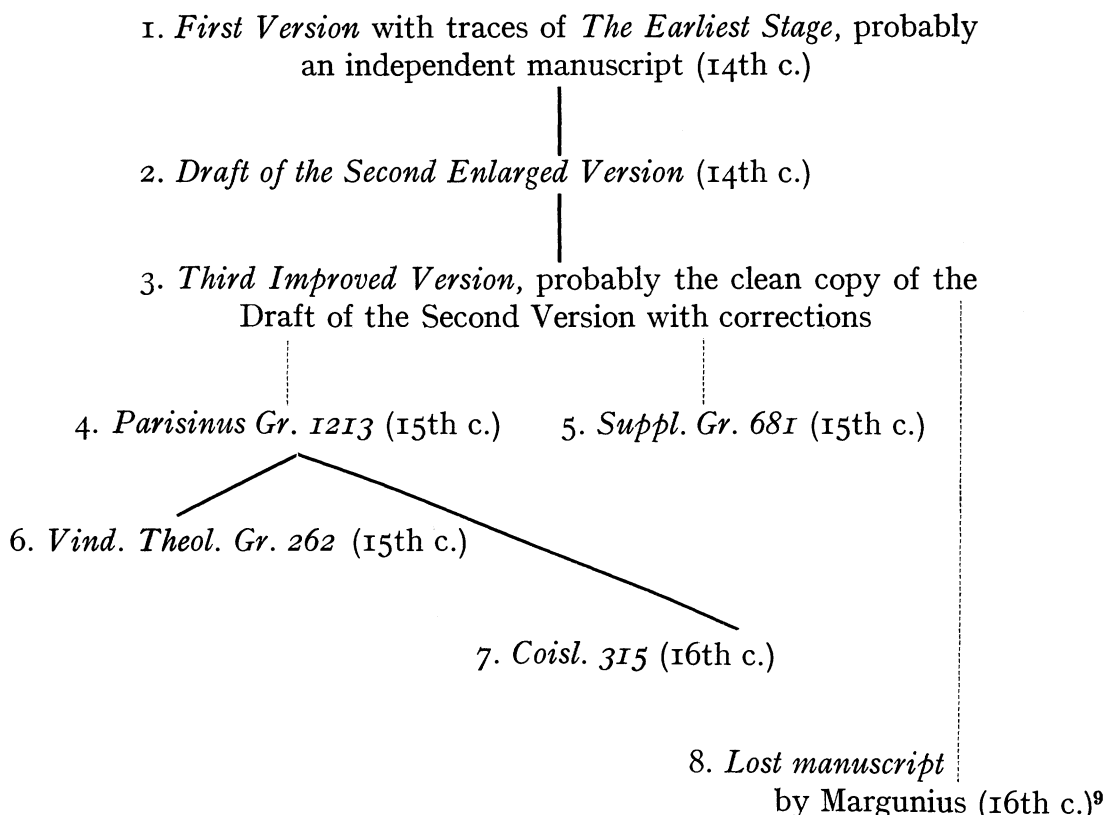
⁵ Other parts of this manuscript should also be assigned to the fourteenth century. The watermarks of fols. 88–96 and 205 (two circles, as in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* . . . [1907], no. 3193) occur in 1368. The text of Gregoras' *History* starting on fol. 104^r is by a hand contemporary with the author.

⁶ For the date of *Parisinus Gr. 1213*, see R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils des lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, (Studi e Testi, CXXXI [1947]), 24, note 1, and 57, note 2 (about 1440?; the evidence is indirect). In any case, the *Parisinus* was copied by the scribe Joasaph, who may have known Cabasilas personally; see Loenertz, *ibidem*. For an improved text of Joasaph's metric address to Cabasilas in *Par. Gr. 1213* see L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LI (1958), 22, note 8.

⁷ For hand Ab, cf. *Sinait. 728*, the first 106 folios (date: ca. 1375?); *Vat. Gr. 1515* (a *menaeum*, date: Sept. 16, 1382, cf. fol. 275^r); *Petropol. Gr. 565* (date: 1392), in G. Cereteli—S. Sobolevski, *Exempla codicum graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum* . . . , II (1913), table LIV. I am indebted to Professor Alexander Turyn (Urbana, Ill.) for these references. He also kindly examined the photostats of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* and expressed his agreement with the dating proposed here.

of the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* to the fourteenth century.⁸ I consider their evidence to be decisive.

We may now recapitulate the history of the text of the *Discourse* in the following *stemma*:



3. The passages added by hand A² have a number of stylistic traits in common with the text of the First Version: for τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ νόμου (now in *Discourse*, 21,8), cf. 25,9 and 47,3; for συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν (now 21,12) and οὕτω τὸ συμφέρον εὔρες (now 21,18), cf. 23,6/7; for θεὸν ἐκβάλλεις (now 21,25), cf. 30,6/7; for δικάζειν with a dative (now 27,9/10), cf. 40,11–12; for οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποι τις εἰ μὴ μαίνηται (now 27,12), cf. εἴποι τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν (32,22) and 35,22; for δίκην... ἀποκεῖσθαι (now 27,16), cf. 52,7 and 56,17. One expression introduced as a correction by A² (1,1/2, λύουσι νόμους) occurs repeatedly in the main text written by A: cf. 30,8; 32,8; 36,3.

⁸ More precisely, to the last thirty years or even the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Here I follow Professor Jean Irigoin (Paris) who was kind enough to examine the watermarks of the relevant folios for me. I submit the summary of his findings: (1) Quire α (fols. 65–72): *amphisbaena* (a serpent with two heads, with a crown of five *fleurons* above it) = C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* ... (1907), no. 13621 (dates: 1375 to 1388); variants in V. Mošin and S. M. Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi XIII. i XIV. vijeka*, I–II (1957), nos. 6990–6992 (dates: 1375 and 1380). (2) Quire β (fols. 73–80): two circles, similar to Briquet no. 3193 (date: 1368); but the paper's wiremark is closer to Briquet nos. 3194–3195 (dates: 1392 and 1398 respectively), and to Mošin-Traljić, no. 2086 (date: 1392–1394). (3) Quire γ (as reconstructed by me, fols. 81, 82; 96–99; 87): *amphisbaena*, as in quire α. The insertion (fols. 83–86) seemingly shows no watermarks.

⁹ Elements of 1 and 2 are in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*. 3 is postulated. 4–7 contain the Final Version. 5 is a fragment. 6 is a copy, direct or intermediate, of 4. 7 is a copy of 4. For 8, see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 88, note 29.

When we compare the insertion by hand A^b (now in *Discourse*, 41,23—50,7) with the First Version for thought and style, we obtain similar results. The argument of paragraph 45 of the insertion takes up the theme announced at the beginning of the First Version (8); the thoughts of 42 and 47 (insisting on the spontaneity of gifts) occur in 35; the view expressed in 47 (that exactions harm the souls of those on whom they are levied) is repeated in 52. The same scriptural quotations are used for similar arguments in the insertion and in the First Version: for example I Cor. 9:14 in 45,2 and 38,26 (cf. 8,6); II Cor. 9:7 in 46,5 and 38,29. Stylistically, the insertion blends well with the prose of the First Version: Compare the mannerisms τοσοῦτον — ὅσον instead of the expected datives (45,13/14) with 54,4 and 56,17/18; οὐ δεῖται λόγου (43,1) with τί δεῖ λόγων ἐτέρων (40,17); πολὺ τὸ μέσον (41,27) with ὅσον αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τε τὸ μέσον (29,18); τὸν ἴσον τρόπον “in the same way” (43,21) with the same expression in 23,19/20 and 24,3 (cf. also collation *ad* 3,9); κείται δίκη (46,18) with κέσεται δίκη (56,17) and δίκην, ἣ κείται (52,7); τῶν . . . γερῶν ἐκβάλλει (44,14; cf. 46,27; 49,13/14) with νόμοι . . . τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβάλλουσιν (58,6); for ποιμένα . . . ποιεῖ μισθωτόν (42,3/4), compare 37,13/15. In the First Version, the adversaries are repeatedly threatened with Hell, γέννα (21,27; 22,33; 33,12; 59,9); the threat is also made in the insertion (46,18). The passages added by A², the insertion by A^b and the First Version were composed by the same author.

I draw the following conclusions from the foregoing observations: Hand A², whose many corrections are largely responsible for the Second Version of the *Discourse*, is neither that of a scribe nor of a corrector, but rather that of a fourteenth-century editor. An editor whose style and thoughts are the same as those of the text he is editing can only be the author himself. Changes made by hand A² in the First Version of the *Discourse* are specimens of the author's own handwriting.

In *Parisinus Gr. 1276* the *Discourse* appears anonymously. *Suppl. Gr. 681* is a fragment without beginning. Only one independent witness, *Parisinus Gr. 1213*, indirectly attributes the *Discourse* to Nicolas Cabasilas. There is, however, no doubt that this attribution is correct. Any reader of Cabasilas' diatribes *Against Usurers* and *On Usury*,¹⁰ which also touch upon social and legal problems, will testify that many mannerisms of style and composition are the same in all these works. Cabasilas is the author of the *Discourse*, and the author's corrections made by hand A² in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* are specimens of Cabasilas' handwriting.¹¹

This deduction is not contradicted by the evidence of Cod. *Panaghias 157* (formerly *Chalcensis* τῆς ἐμπορικῆς Σχολῆς 153) of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Fols. 294^r–300^v of this manuscript purport to be an autograph by Cabasilas

¹⁰ *Against Usurers*, in Migne, PG, CL, 727–750; *Address to Anne of Savoy on Usury*, ed. R. Guiland, in *Εἰς Μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου* (1935), 274–77.

¹¹ I hesitate to ascribe hand A to Cabasilas. True, on fol. 77^r scribe A makes a stylistic change in the text (see collation *ad* 30,30; cf. also *ad* 29,2/4; 35,5; 39,5; 54,17); he also leaves space for legal quotations, which he inserts later (see collation *ad* 50,9 and 11 and fig. 8); but once he omits a whole (indispensable) clause because of a *homoeoteleuton* (cf. *ad* 56,2/3). Such an error can hardly be imputed to an author copying his own work. It is strange, however, that Cabasilas should not have caught this omission when revising the First Version of the *Discourse*.

(cf. fig. 12 with the remark at the top of folio 294^r: κυροῦ Νικολάου Καβάσιλα τοῦ Χαμαέτου οἰκειόχειρα). Fols. 295–300 form a *senio*; fol. 294 is glued on. The hand seems to change at fol. 295^r, line 2. I find the handwriting of fols. 295^r, line 2–300^v (cf. fig. 13) similar to that of hand A².¹²

II

1. Any interval from a few weeks up to several decades may separate the First Version of the *Discourse* from the Third. The Third Version may have been undertaken when Cabasilas was preparing a new edition of several of his works. This is only a guess. All we can say is that fifty years or less passed between the composition of the *Discourse*'s Earliest Stage and Cabasilas' death.¹³ About another fifty years separate that event from *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and *Suppl. Gr. 681*, until recently the earliest known manuscripts of the *Discourse*. With the help of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* we can reliably place three consecutive versions of the *Discourse* within less than a century after its composition. This makes one wonder about the hidden history of texts preserved in manuscripts much later than the date at which these texts were composed.¹⁴

The study of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* also shows how difficult it is to assign a precise date to Byzantine rhetorical works and to connect them with concrete historical events. When editing the *Discourse*, I treated it as a uniform text and I tentatively proposed 1344 as the date of its composition. The watermarks seem to indicate that the pages of the *Parisinus* comprising the First Version of the *Discourse* were written within the last thirty years of the fourteenth century.¹⁵ This does not necessarily mean that this version was *composed* within that period, although it may have been. But it does mean that the *Discourse*

¹² In addition, Father V. Laurent, "Un nouveau témoin de la correspondance de Démétrius Cydonès et de l'activité littéraire de Nicolas Cabasilas Chamaétos . . .," *Ελληνικά*, IX (1936), 199 f., has suggested that parts of *Meteor. Barlaam 202* which contain Cabasilas' correspondence may be an autograph (for a specimen, cf. fig. 14). He considers these parts similar to the portions of *Panaghias 157* said to be autographs. While this may be so, the difference between the careful handwriting of the *Meteor. Barlaam 202* and the scribbles of hand A² of *Parisinus Gr. 1276* is too great to allow any conclusions to be drawn. I wish to thank the Rev. M. Richard and Mme. E. Zizicas of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris) for their assistance and permission to reproduce figures 12 and 14.

¹³ Born about 1320, Cabasilas was still alive in 1391; see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 85–87 and notes 19 and 27.

¹⁴ This is *not* to say that we cannot study the reworkings undertaken by ancient authors. The problem has been dealt with extensively by H. Emonds (who states in *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* [1947], p. 9, that the best opportunity for the study of second editions is provided by cases where little time separates the author's work from the date of the earliest preserved manuscripts); and elegantly by C. Hoeg ("Notules sur l'histoire du livre grec," *Studi e Testi*, CXXIV [1946], esp. 5–12). But in the case of ancient authors, second editions must be reconstructed; in that of Cabasilas, several versions may be directly observed.—We know that other fourteenth-century authors reedited their works. Cf. J. Meyendorff, "Les débuts de la querelle hésychaste," *Byzantion*, XXIII (1953), 105, note 4 (on changes which Barlaam made in the text of his treatises *Against the Latins* and on two preserved versions of his *Prayer*); also, R. Browning, "David Dishypatos' Poem on Akindynos," *Byzantion*, XXV–XXVII (1955–57), 742–745 (on various versions of Dishypatos' *Explanation of the errors of Barlaam and Acindynus*).

¹⁵ See note 8 *supra*.

was *revised* within these years. Like the *Discourse*, some texts which we now consider uniform may be the result of reworkings, and may even be dim and confused reflections of several sets of historical circumstances.

The fact that Cabasilas revised and amplified the *Discourse* within the last thirty years of the fourteenth century strengthens my contention that this work does not refer to the Zealots at all. The issues raised in the *Discourse* must have been alive when these extensive revisions were made, and the Zealots were a thing of the past by the seventies of the fourteenth century. But my dating of the *Discourse* must remain a mere suggestion. I continue to believe that the *Discourse* is concerned with, among other things, the secularization measures undertaken by the imperial government for defense purposes. Within this interpretation, a later date for the *Discourse* is also possible.¹⁶ Cabasilas may have reacted to governmental actions that affected monastic properties after the battle of Maritza (1371).¹⁷

2. Our *stemma* remains unchanged whether we assign the first three versions of the *Discourse* to the fourteenth century and ascribe the editorial corrections to Cabasilas, or make a later irreverent editor responsible for the far-reaching changes in the text of the *Discourse*. But the choice between these two solutions will affect the edition of Cabasilas' text. If all the editorial changes are his own, then we should edit the Final Version; if they are not, we should edit the First or the Second. As I ascribe the changes to Cabasilas, I consider my edition essentially correct, for it is based on the Final Version of the *Discourse*. However, the versions contained in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* help to improve the text in a few instances (I am also including here the corrections of typographical errors in my edition): 6,17 read δὲ οὐτε; 13,2 read δεδωκότων; 18,10 read ἀτοπώτατον; 20,26 read τεθνάναι; 22,8 read φησιν; 22,12 read μὲν γάρ; 25,5 read φροντίσι; 30,16 place the comma after θεόν; 38,4 read τούτων κλαόντων οὐτε ἐκείνων πατούμενων; 38,21 read εἰσπράττεις τούτους κάκεινους; 39,13 read ὀριζομένων ἐδείκνυς; 40,18 read πάντα παραλιπόντας; 41,1 read ἱερέων; 41,17/18 read ἵνα μάθῃς, τοῦτο μὲν; 48,5 place the comma after κακηγορίας; 49,12 read τοῦτ' ἐστίν; 50,6 no punctuation after πονηριῶν; 50,11 read ἐβεβαιώθη; 51,9 read ϛ; 55,3 read ἱερέας; 55,5 read αὐτῶν. Some other readings of the earlier versions deserve consideration:

¹⁶ After this was written, I received an interesting article by E. Werner, "Volkstümliche Häretiker oder sozialpolitische Reformer? Probleme der revolutionären Volksbewegung in Thessalonike 1342–1349," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, VIII (1958–59), Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe, Heft I, pp. 45–83. There the author takes the opposite view. On page 57, note 117, he seems to agree with my previous dating of the *Discourse* (1344), but on page 46, note 8, and *passim* he disagrees with my conviction that this text is not concerned with the Zealots. Only general considerations are adduced by way of refutation, one of which reads: "We are able to do justice to the Zealot commune only if we start from the class structure (*Klassenanlage*)." I had thought that the perusal of the full text of the *Discourse* would be sufficiently convincing in itself. I hope now that general agreement will be reached at least on one point: some parts of the *Discourse*—those added in its later versions—are not concerned with the Zealots. For my part, I continue to maintain that the whole *Discourse* is unrelated to the Zealot problem. Rather than to confine ourselves to Cabasilas, it would be more useful to turn to other texts, as yet unexplored, which reveal the social discontent in the mid-fourteenth century. I have in mind Alexios Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*. Cf. my edition of this text in *Srpska Akademija Nauka, Zbornik radova*, LXV, Vizantološki Institut, VI (1960), 187–228.

¹⁷ On government measures after 1371, see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 159.

see collation below *ad* 1,9; 8,4; 15,4; 16,17; 20,1; 28,13; 41,6; 41,12; 45,12; 47,14/15; 48,19; 49,10; 58,7. I was interested, but not elated, to note that only one of my four conjectures (in *Discourse*, 38,21) was confirmed by the First Version.

3. How did Cabasilas work on his text? Much as would any other writer who was revising his work with great care. The changes leading to the Second Version are plentiful and substantial, those leading from the Second to the Third (as reflected in the Final) are less extensive, mainly stylistic and grammatical. This tapering off of corrections is what we would expect from any author. What is surprising for a Byzantine is that in his editorial changes Cabasilas strives for clarity and precision, as well as for amplification. Sometimes he even cuts out deadwood, although, like most writers, he adds more than he subtracts.

On the whole, the purpose of additions, whether of words or of whole passages, is to give more stress to arguments of the previous version. Such is the function of the added statement 21,5/10 (the adversaries must misuse the alienated property, not because they want to do so, but because they cannot do otherwise). The addition 27,7–28,15 adduces scriptural parallels to the adversary's evil-doings. Sometimes one addition leads to another: 28,4/6 repeats the thought of the added passage 21,5/10 (the adversaries' efforts are in vain); 29,2/4 is a development referring to the first part of the added passage 27,7–28,15.

A new argument appears only in the insertion extending from 41,23 to the end of 49.¹⁸ This most considerable of the additions to the First Version accuses the metropolitan of exacting contributions from his "subjects," including the monasteries, whereas he should have been satisfied with voluntary gifts. This argument is illustrated by the most colorful passage of the *Discourse*, the description of the monks' hatred towards their bishop. Otherwise, the insertion is among the less precise parts of the *Discourse*.

By introducing a new argument, the insertion disrupted the reasoning of the original text. In the First Version, where 41,23 was followed directly by 50,1, the "long custom" (50,1/2) referred to the metropolitan's habit of violating the autonomy of his bishops (cf. 30–41); in the Second Version, this "custom" refers to his practice of collecting taxes from the faithful and the monks (42–40). Accordingly, I interpreted the "custom" as that of receiving the *κανονικόν*. This may yet be what Cabasilas meant in the Second Version, but in the First he did not touch upon this subject at all.

The smaller additions are not always mere variations, repetitions, and amplifications; on occasion, they contain new and specific information. One instance is the passage which corresponds to 4,1/11. The earliest Stage describes the recipients of donations only as "holy men, residing in sacred precincts" (cf. p. 183 *supra* and collation *infra ad* 3,9); the First Version of the same

¹⁸ The text written by hand A^b comprises 41, 23 to 50,7. But 50,1/7 appears twice: once at the bottom of fol. 82^v (by hand A, cf. fig. 6), where it is crossed out, and again at the bottom of fol. 86^v, i.e. at the end of the insertion (cf. fig. 9).

passage speaks expressly of monasteries and monks, and adds some information on the despoilers of monks: they take the revenue away from them. The Second Version inserts a rather important further detail, that the despoilers take the revenue partly for their own use and partly for that of others. This detail, combined with other words added in the First Version led me to assume that the expropriations may have occurred for the benefit of *pronoia* holders.

Another instance is **21,17/26**, rewritten in the Second Version. Although this new version of the passage primarily amplifies the thought that the adversary's actions bring about the ruin of his own soul, it is also more specific: it identifies monasteries as victims of the adversary's confiscations.

Even purely stylistic additions (whether to the First Version or the Second) are sometimes made for the sake of clarity and explicitness: thus in **2,14** and **23,7** Cabasilas inserts αὐτούς, in **16,19** τοῖς πράγμασιν, in **41,7** τὸν Χριστόν and in **41,8** δεσπότης (= Christ); in **43,1** δεικνύειν is added to make the passage more explicit; the same consideration accounts for the added τοῖς in **46,14**, for the change of ἐκείνον into αὐτόν in **48,18** and for the insertion of μᾶλλον in **49,6**. Only a few corrections make the text more vague: for example in **56,4** the change (between the First and the Second Versions) of ἐπίσκοπον into ἱερέα, in **39,5** the change of μητροπόλεως into πόλεως (Second to Final Version) and in **41,8** the omission of ἐπίσκοπος from the Final, if not the Third, Version (by virtue of this omission "everybody," not "every bishop," becomes an imitator of Christ).

In many cases it is possible to give the reasons for Cabasilas' stylistic improvements. Thus in **2,7** δεόμενοις (First Version) was changed into βουλομένοις (Second), to bring out the opposition to μὴ βουλομένοις in **2,8**; the reworking in **22,9** (Second to Final Version) made the whole clause dependent on ἡγοῦ (**22,6**); the change of ἡγουμένην into ἐπομένην (**23,23**) was required by logic; εὐλαβουμένων was changed into -νους (**44,3**), and εἰργασμένος into -νον (**36,10**) to improve the sentence structure; ὅμως (**57,7**) was omitted after the Second Version for the sake of conformity (the preceding passage uses the second person singular).

Usually, changes in grammar and spelling demand no explanation. They include corrections of false accents and misspellings, the latter often caused by itacism; itacism, too, is the cause for numerous changes of indicative to optative or conjunctive and of optative to conjunctive or future forms. Striving for elegance explains changes like that of εἰ into ἄν (**20,9**) and of a perfect without augment to one with augment (**22,16**). On occasion, the motive for changes remains unclear, as when one optative form is substituted for another (**1,6**), an aorist infinitive is changed into *inf. praes.* (**17,7**; **35,18**), or a future infinitive into *inf. aor.* (**20,1**). Some changes in word order seem to have been made to conform with "Meyer's Law" (e.g., **3,8**; **10,3**; **16,35**); I was not able to discern the reason for others. Some of the numerous deletions of words or groups of words (either in the Second Version or the Third) were made to achieve pregnancy (**50,15**) or to correct nonsense (**59,1**); in other instances

meaningless words were eliminated (οἶμαι, 20,16), or redundant nouns or verbs struck out (23,18; 33/34; 32,17).

3. The following is a collation of the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276* with my edition published in these *Papers*.¹⁹

Titulus: Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις Α^x

1,1 λύουσι supra versum Α² 1,2 νόμους καί] νόμους πατοῦσι καί Α: vocabulum πατοῦσι expunxit Α² 1,6 ὑπόθειτο] ὑπόθοιτο Α 1,8 πλημμελοῦσιν] πλημμελοῦσι Α Ρ: -σιν Ρ¹ 1,9 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Α 1,12 Σολομῶντος] σοφοῦ Α: quod vocabulum expunxit et σολομῶντος supra versum scripsit Α²

2,7 βουλομένοις] δεομένοις Α: δεο- expunxit et βουλο- supra versum scripsit Α² 2,12 ἀκούσονται] ἀκούσονται Α Ρ 2,14 αὐτοὺς supra versum Α² 2,15 καὶ βάραθρον—προσδοκᾶν ΡΑ^x (Α²?)^{ms}: ἐκδέχεται Α, quod vocabulum expunxit Α^x(Α²?)

3,2 πάντ' ἂν βούλονται] πάντα βούλονται ἂν Α 3,4 διδάσκει]-οι Α fortasse recte 3,5 χαλεπαίνουσιν in rasura Α 3,8 τῶν ψήφων τοῖς δικασταῖς] τοῖς δικασταῖς τῶν ψήφων Α: supra τ. δ. litteram β, supra τ. ψ. litteram α superscripsit Α² 3,9 πεπραγμένον ἐπανορθώσειν] εἰργασμένον ἐπανορθῶσαι Α, in quo haec verba expuncta sequuntur: ναοὺς τινες ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀγροὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνέθηκαν· καὶ οἰκίας· καὶ πλέθρα γῆς, καὶ ἄλση, καὶ παραδείσους. καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα· καὶ τούτων ἐκέλευσαν ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τοῖς τεμένεσι προσεδρεύουσι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα τελοῦσι· καὶ ταῦτα γράψαντες ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀπῆλθον· δῆλον τοίνυν, ὅτι καθάπερ τῶν ὠνησαμένων ἦσαν ἐκεῖνα, τὸν ἴσον τρόπον καὶ τούτων, οἷς ἔδοσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν διαφέροι, οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως κτήσασθαι· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁμοί(ως) δεσπότης τῶν ἀγρῶν, ὃ τε τὰργύριον καταβαλὼν, καὶ ὁ παρ(ὰ) (cf. 4,9–11).

4,2/3 τοὺς μοναχοὺς] τοῖς φροντισταῖς Α 4,3 χρησάμενοι] κτησάμενοι Α 4,3 τὴν ἀρχὴν Ρ Α: τηναρχὴν Α² 4,3 ἀφαιρούμενοι — 4 χρῆσθαι Ρ Α² e corr. et supra versum: ἀφαιροῦνται Α 4,9 διαθήκαις] ταῖς δ. Α

5,7 κέρδος Ρ Α² e corr.: χρέος Α 5,7 ἀναβάλλονται] ἀναβάλλονται Α 5,8 τοιαῦτα] τὰ τ. Α

6,5 καὶ τοιούτους ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι] τοιούτους εἶναι χρή Α: voc. χρή expunxit Α² 6,7 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Α 6,7 γάρ supra versum Α² 6,14 μικρά] τὰ μικρά Α 6,17 δ'] δέ Α Ρ recte 6,18 ἀπολειφθέντων] περιλειφθέντων Α 6,18/19 ἀναθεμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀ. ἀναθ. Α 6,19 ἀπᾶδον] ἀπάδον Α Ρ 6,20 ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν Α 6,22 μοναχῶν] μονῶν Α? 6,28 σκοποῖ] σκοπεῖ Α

7,1 οἰκείων] ἰδίων Α

8,3 κοινόν supra versum Α 8,4 ὠφελήσοντες] ὠφελήσοντας ΑΡS 8,11 παρέχουσι] παρέ Α: -χουσι add. Α⁴ 8,11 ὃ, τι Ρ Α² e corr.: εἴ τι Α

10,1/2 τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι δεῖ] ἀνακ. δεῖ τ. ἀρχ. Α 10,3 προϊστασθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ] τῆς αὐτοῦ προϊστασθαι Α: supra τ. αὐ. litteram β, supra προιστ. litteram α superscripsit Α² 10,4 κατορύξαι] κατορρύξαι Α 10,6 ἄρχουσιν] ἄγουσι Α

¹⁹ Numbers refer to paragraph and line of my edition. Α = scribe of the main text of the First Version; Α¹ denotes corrections surely attributable to this scribe; Α² = author of most corrections and additions in the text written by Α; Α³ . . . Α^x = hands of other correctors of this text. Α^b = scribe of the insertion; Α^{b1} = corrections by this scribe; Α^{b2} = corrector of the text written by Α^b; Α^c = copyist of a few lines of the *Discourse* at the beginning of fol. 87^v; Ρ = *Parisinus Gr. 1213*; S = *Suppl. Gr. 681*.

10,7 τούτων] τῶν τοιούτων A 10,17 ἢ] supra versum A³ 10,17 νόμος ἐστίν] νόμος ἐστὶ A²(A³?)^{ms} 10,18 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς A

11,1 φησι] φησιν A 11,1 ἐκβάλλω P A² ex corr.: ἐκβάλλομεν A 11,2 τεθνάσι] τεθνᾶσι A 11,12 ἐκείνων] ἐκείνων ἐστίν A 11,13 πρότερον γενέσθαι τοῖς χρόνοις] γενέσθαι πρότερον χρόνοις A

12,1 δεσπότης αὐτοὺς φησι] φ. δ. αὐ. A 12,5 καί¹ om. A 12,7 δεικνύναι] δεικνῦναι A P 12,9 μήτε τῶν] μήτέ τινα τῶν A

13,2 δεδοκότων] δεδωκότων A P recte 13,10 δεῖ supra versum A¹ 13,14 συγχαίρεις] συγχωρεῖς A

14,1 φησιν] φησι A 14,1 ἐκείνοις] ἐκείνους A 14,7 εἶναι supra versum A² 14,10 ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ A

15,4 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A

16,6 μέλει A² e corr.: μέλλει A 16,14/15 οὔτε ἀμείβουσιν] οὔτ' ἀμείβουσιν A 16,16 δεικνύναι] δεικνῦναι A P 16,17 οἰκονομοῦσιν] οἰκονομοῦσι A 16,17 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν A 16,19 ὑπὸ P A² e corr.: ἀπὸ A 16,19 τοῖς πράγμασιν supra versum A² 16,21 βλάπτει] βλάπτει A 16,23 δοκοῖ] δοκεῖ A 16,29 συνενέγκη] συνενέγκοι A 16,35 ὧν ἔλαβεν οἱ νόμοι φασί] οἱ νόμ. φασὶ ὧν ἔλαβ. A: supra οἱ ν. φ. litteram β, supra ὧν ἔ. litteram α posuit A² 16,35 τοῦ λαβεῖν] τῷ A 16,38 ἢ²] καὶ A 16,44 προσίασι] προσιᾶσι A?

17,2 συνενέγκη] συνενέγκοι A 17,6 χωρίς] καὶ χωρίς A 17,7 χρῆσθαι] χρήσασθαι A 17,7 ἐγκλήματα] ἐγκλήματα γένοιτ' ἂν A

18,1 ἐν] πρᾶγμα ἐν A 18,6 δείξοι] δείξει A 18,9 οὐδέν] οὐδένα A 18,10 ἀτοπώτατον] ἀτοπώτατόν A P recte 18,15 προὔβαλετο] προυβάλλετο A

19,1 ἐδίδαξεν οὐδείς] ἡ φύσις ἐδίδαξεν A 19,6 ἡδίκησας] ἡδίκηκας A 19,7 καὶ ἀνδράποδον] καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀνδράποδον A 19,7 ἐκεῖνα] εἰς ἔ. A

20,1 οὐκοῦν] οὐκουν APS 20,1 χρήσασθαι] χρήσεσθαι A 20,9 ἂν] εἰ A 20,14 ἐξελέγχει] ἐξελέγχει A 20,16 δείξουσιν] οἶμαι δείξουσιν A: voc. οἱ. expunxit A² 20,25 εἰ δέ] εἰδ' A 20,26 τεθνᾶναι] τεθνᾶναι A recte 20,27 ταῦτ'] τοιαῦτ' A

21,5 κελεύει] κελεύοι A 21,5 ἔστι — 10 βούλωνται in margine superiore A² 21,11 τοῦ συμφέροντος τυγχάνειν in rasura A² 21,11 οὐδ' εἴ τις] δ' εἴ τις in rasura A² 21,11 κοινὸν ὠφελεῖ in rasura A² 21,13 αὐτοῦ P A: ἑαυτοῦ e corr. A²? 21,14 τῶν¹ e corr. A¹ 21,17 ὅταν καὶ — 26 ὄντων in margine inferiore add. A²: τοῦ μὲν τείχους καὶ τῆς νίκης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδαμῶς· εἴ γε δυνήσῃ πρὸς τοιαῦτα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις· ὧν δὲ σαυτὸν εἰργάσω, καὶ πάνυ· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέστησας ἀναλώσας, ταῦτ' ἐκτήσω, τοὺς νόμους ἡδίκηκώς A, cuius verba expunxit A² 21,17 δυνηθῆς] δυνηθῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομεῖν vocabulis ἁ. τ. π. expunctis A² 21,24 κατ' om. A² 21,26 οὐκοῦν add. A²: καὶ A?

22,3 εἰ] ὅτι A 22,5 τό] τί A 22,8 φησι] φησιν A P recte 22,9 οὐδέν — δίκας] ὑποσχέιν τὰς ἀξίας δίκας οὐδέν κωλύει A 22,10/11 ἡμῖν καλλίους] κ. ἢ. A 22,12 μὲν] μὲν γὰρ AS recte 22,16 ἀπεστέρηνται] ἀποστέρηνται A 22,27 ὁμοίως supra versum A¹ 22,28 τοῖς supra versum A² 22,29 φόνον] τὸν φόνον A 22,34 γενέσθαι in margine A² (A³?) 22,35 τὰ δὲ εἰς] τὰ δ' εἰς A 22,35 καὶ τὸν θεόν om. A

23,3 καὶ κλοπᾶς] καὶ τᾶλλα κλοπᾶς vocabulo τᾶλλα expuncto A 23,4 τὰς ἄλλας P A² e corr.: τᾶλλα A 23,4 πονηριῶν A² e corr.: πονηρῶν A 23,5 καὶ οὐδείς

ἀντερει om. A 23,7 αὐτούς om. A: αὐτούς et aliud vocabulum expunctum (δύνασθαι?) supra versum A² 23,7 δυνηθῆναι om. A 23,13 δοκεῖν] ταῦτα δοκεῖν A 23,18 τοιχωρύχοις] τοιχωρύχοις καὶ λωποδύταις A 23,23 ἐπομένην] ἡγουμένην A 23,25 ζημιοῖ] ἵνα σώσῃ, ζημιοῖ A 23,33/34 ἐπαισίδόν] ἐπαισίδόν καὶ μῖμον A

25,5 φροντίσιν] -σι A S recte 25,11 σπουδῇ] τὴν σπουδὴν A 25,15 προεδρία] προεδρεία A

26,11 τίς δημιουργὸς τίς γεωργός] τ. γ. τ. δ. A 26,13 τακτικά] τὰ τακτ. A fortasse recte 26,14 κρατούσης] κρατούσης καὶ οὕτω δυστυχῶν ἀθλιώτατος ἄρξεις A

27,2 τι erasit V^{*}? 27,7 ἀκούεις — 28,15 παρέλθωσιν in marginibus inferioribus foll. 75^v et 76^r add. A² 27,10/11 ἡ τῶν] ἡ κατὰ τῶν vocabulo κ. expuncto A² 27,11 ἐπαινέσει] στεφανώσει A² 27,12 μαίνεται] μαίνοιτο quod in μαίνεται mutavit A² 27,15 μαστίξας] μαστίζων quod in μαστίξας mutavit A² 27,16 ἀποκεῖσθαι] ^{ἀπὸ} κείσθαι A² 27,19 οὕτω καλῶν] λέγων οὕτω καλῶν vocabulo λ. expuncto A²

28,1 Ἔστι τοίνυν] post ἐ. τ. vocabulum quoddam (οὕτως?) expunctum in A² 28,1 μισούμενον] μούμενον A²? 28,1/2 τῶν αὐτῶν — 3 ἔνεκα] ἡ τῶν ιδίων ἡ τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκα τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων πραγμάτων, δι' ἃ A², qui postea litteram β vocabulis ἡ τῶν ιδίων, litteram α vocabulis τῶν αὐτῶν suprascripsit, vocabula ἡ τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκα expunxit eorumque loco ἔνεκα supra versum posuit 28,3 τοὺς δὲ πλεονέκτας] haec legi non possunt in A² 28,8 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' A² 28,8 διαπσεῖν P A² e corr.: διαφυγεῖν A² 28,9 οὐδέ] οὐδ' A² 28,9 τῆς ἀληθείας προρρήσεις] προρρήσεις τῆς ἀληθείας A² qui postea supra προρρήσεις vocabula τῆς ἀληθείας posuit et τ. ἀ. in versu sequenti expunxit 28,10 διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν — 12 ἄρχοντα] ἀμείνονος τυχεῖν τῆς ζωῆς ἡ μακροτέρας διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐκ ιδιώτην μόνον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄρχοντα A², qui postea litteram β vocabulis ἀμείνονος τυχεῖν, litteram α vocabulo πλεονεξίαν, litteram γ vocabulis οὐκ ιδιώτην superscripsit et vocabulum διὰ expunxit 28,13 οὐκ ἔθνος] οὐδ' ἔθνος A² 28,18 καὶ ὦν] ὦν A 28,19 ἱεροσουλία] ἱεροσουλία καὶ ἀδικία A 28,20 ἀσύνετος] ἀνόητος A 28,20 ἀνόητος] ἀσύνετος A

29,2 οὗς — 4 κατελθεῖν in margine A² (A¹?) 29,4 μετά] μετ' A² 29,8 οὐ κατέδυσ] οὐκ ἂν κατέδυσ A 29,11 ἐκείνος] ἐκείνοι A 29,15 πολλῶ γε χεῖρῳ] πολλῶ χεῖρῳ ταυτί A: voc. ταυτί expunxit A² 29,14 τοῦ om. A 29,16 ἡτίμωκας] ἡτίμωκας καὶ οἷε μηδὲν εἰργάσθαι δεινόν A: vocabula καί—δεινόν expunxit A² 29,18 θεοῦ τε]καὶ θεοῦ A 29,20 δέ supra versum A² 29,25 σκωλήκων τὸ σῶμα] τὸ σῶμα σκωλήκων A

30,5 δικαιοσύνης] διοικήσεως A 30,12 μηδέν] οὐδέν A 30,16 ποιῶν τὸν θεόν] τὸν θεὸν ποιῶν A 30,22 κἂν]καὶ A 30,30 παραστήσεται] ἔλοι quod vocabulum expunxit et παραστήσεται in margine adiecit A¹ 30,36 ἐποίησεν] ἐποίησιν A 30,37 ὄφελος] ὄφ. ὄν A 30,40 γνώμαις P A² e corr.: νόμοις A 30,42 ταύτην in rasura A¹ (A²?) 30,45 καταλείπετε] -λει- in rasura A¹ (A²?) 30,45 ἀπονοίας καὶ θράσους] θράσους ἡ ἀπονοίας A 30,47 νοσῆς] νοσεῖς A

31,8 πάντα supra versum A² 31,9 τουτωνί om. A 31,12 εἶχεν] εἶχε A 31,15 πάντα supra versum A² 31,18 νομίζει] νομίλοι A 31,23 ἂν εἴη] ἀεί A

32,3 ἐαυτῷ] αὐτῷ A 32,4 τὸν Ἰωάννου] Ἰωάννου τὸν A 32,15 χρυσοῦ] τοῦ χρ. A 32,17 νομίζειν] τολμήσαι νομίζειν A 32,19 σεμνόν] σ. ἄν A 32,21 ἐκεῖθεν] ἐκεῖθεν ἄν A 32,25 ἐκάστου] τὰς ἐκ. A 32,26 καὶ τούτῳ — 33,2 παρανομεῖν] καὶ τούτῳ — 32,30 φησιν in margine inferiore A, quibus 33,1 ἀλλά — 2 παρανομεῖν in margine inferiore addidit A² 32,28 καὶ νόμων ἐμέλησεν ἐκάστοτε] ἐκάστοτε καὶ νόμων ἐμέλησε A

33,5 φασιν] φησίν A 33,8 ῥῖψαι] ῥίψαι APS 33,12/13 post θορυβήσης in spatio 10 litterarum lineam habet A

34,5 τοῦτον e corr. A¹ (εἰ in τ mutato) 34,16 ἀλλ' οἰκονομεῖν] ἀλλ' οἰ- in rasura A^x (A²?) 34,17 ἀνδρῶν in margine A 34,17 ἐγγράψαι] γράψαι A 34,22 δέ] δ' A 34,24 καλέσης P A² e corr.: καλέσαι τολμήσης A 34,25 βοῶσι] βοῶσι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθείης A: καὶ—ἀρνηθείης expunxit A² 34,30 ἡ πόλις βλάβους ἢ ὠφελείας] βλ. ἡ ὠφ. ἡ πόλ. A

35,3 οὐκ] ὡς οὐκ A 35,5 τῆς αὐτῆς in marginibus addidit A¹ 35,11 λάβης] λάβοις A 35,18/19 ἀνέχεσθαι] ἀνασχέσθαι A 35,20 καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλιν ὀλόκληρον] κ. π. ὁ. κ. χ. A: supra π. ὁ. litteram β, supra κ. χ. litteram α posuit A² 35,22 τις] τίς ἄν A

36,1 εἶναι νόμους] νόμους εἶναι A 36,6/7 νόμους τολμήσει] τ. ν. A 36,7 εἰπεῖν] εἰ- in rasura A 36,10 εἰργασμένον] εἰργασμένος A

37,4/5 εἰσπράττωνται] -ονται A: -ωνται e corr. A¹ 37,5 διαλέγωνται] -ονται A: -ωνται e corr. A¹ 37,6 ἀναλίσκωσι] -ουσι A: -ωσι e corr. A¹ 37,11 post δόξαν in spatio 5 litterarum lineam habet A 37,15 προεδρίαν] -είαν A

38,4 τούτων πατουμένων] τούτων κλαόντων οὔτε ἐκείνων πατουμένων A (κλαόντων e corr. A¹) recte 38,11 γρίφον] γρίφον A: γρύφον e corr. A^x 38,16 post εἰ reliquum lineae spatium vacuum in A 38,17 ἄν] ἄν ὑμῖν A 38,19 δικάζης] δικάζεις A: -ζης e corr. A¹ 38,21 κἀκείνους] τούτους κἀκείνους A recte 38,22 λάβης] λάβοις A 38,27 ζῆν] ζῆν, ὁ παῦλος φησίν A: ὁ—φησίν expunxit A² 38,28 ἀοίκους] ἀοίκους, τοὺς ἀσκεύους A 38,31 σημαῖνοι] σημάνοι A 38,38 οὐδὲν κοινόν] κοινὸν οὐδέν A

39,5 πόλεως] μητροπόλεως A 39,5 τὰς ἀποίκους in margine add. A^x 39,6 πόλεις] τὰς πόλεις A: τὰς erasit A^x (A¹?) 39,7 ὁμοφύλους] ὁμοτίμους A 39,9 εἶθ' P A¹ e corr.: εἶτε A 39,10 αἰτίαν PA² supra versum] γραφήν A quod expunxit A² 39,13 τῶν νόμῳ ἐδείκνυς ὀριζομένων] ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ὀριζομένων ἐδείκνυς A: τῶν νόμῳ ὀριζομένων ἐδείκνυς S recte

40,4 τὴν πόλιν] τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν: post τὴν in spatio 5 litterarum lineam habet S 40,5 ὑπῆρξεν] ὑπῆρξε A 40,12 αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν] λαβεῖν A 40,18 παραλιπόντας] πάντα παραλιπόντας A recte 40,26/27 μὲν πέμπειν] μὲν om. A sed post πέμπειν supra versum add. A² 40,27 δ' οὐδέν] δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδέν A

41,1 τοὺς εὐθεστέρους τῶν ἱερέων] τῶν ἱ. τοὺς εὐ. A 41,6 ἀπέχεται] ἀπέχονται A 41,7 εἰδῆς] ἰδῆς A 41,7 σκέψαι] αὐτὸ σκέψαι A 41,7 τὸν Χριστόν om. A 41,8 πᾶς] πᾶς ἐπίσκοπος A 41,8 οὐ δεσπότης καὶ om. A 41,9 ἐγχειρίλης] -λεις A: -ζης e corr. A¹ 41,12 ὄντων] ἔνδον A fortasse recte 41,12 τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὶ τὴν οἰκίαν A 41,14 καὶ γάρ] καὶ γὰρ καὶ A 41,15/16 ὁ νόμος ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ὁ νόμος A 41,16 θυρῶν] προθύρων A 41,17/18 τοῦτο μὲν ἵνα μάθης] ἱ. μάθης τ. μὲν A recte 41,23 post δανείζοντες 50,1 ναί — 7 τολμη- A (50,4 τοὺς] τοὺς

των Α 50,7 παρά] και παρά Α): 50,1 ναί—χθές quae versum unum constituunt erasit, 50,2 και πρώην—7 τολμη- expunxit Α² 41,23 οὔτε] hic incipit manus Α^b

42,2 βουλομένοις] -νους Α^b 42,12 ἄθλα] ἄθλα Α^b 42,13 μηχανωμένοις] -νη-σαμενοις Α^b

43,1 δεικνύειν] om. Α^b 43,7 ἐκβάλλη] ἐκβάλλη Α^b 43,9 περιβαλέσθαι] περιβαλλέσθαι Α^b 43,12 αὐτῶν P Α^b: αὐτῶν e corr. Α^{b2}? 43,20 πράσσοντες] πράττοντες Α^b

44,3 εὐλαβουμένους] εὐλαβουμένων Α^b 44,13 ἀνθρώπους] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Α^b 44,18 θεόν] χριστόν Α^b 44,19 παρὰ ἀνθρώποις] παρ' ἀνθρώποις Α^b 44,20 ἐρῶ-σιν] ἐρῶσι Α^b

45,3 πρᾶγμα] πρᾶγμα φησὶν Α^b 45,12 μηδέν] μηδένα Α^b fortasse recte 45,19 οὐ τι] οὐ τοι Α^b 45,20 οἶον P Α^{b2} e corr.: οἱ Α^b

46,2 δέωνται P Α^{b1} e corr.: -ονται Α^b 46,6 ἡ βίας φησι] φησὶν ἡ βίας Α^b 46,14 τοῖς om. Α^b 46,14 ὑπομένοντας] ὑπομείναντας Α^b 46,15 ἀρετῆς] τῆς ἀ. Α^b

47,6 τοῦτο] τοῦτ' αὐτό Α^b 47,7 κερδάνης] κερδάνοις σκοπεῖς Α^b 47,8 ἀπαντήσῃ] ἀπαντήσῃ Α^b 47,13 ἀναμένης] ἀναμείνης Α^b 47,14/15 ἐνεχυριάζων] ἐνεχυράζων Α^b fortasse recte

48,18 αὐτόν] ἐκείνον Α^b 48,19 πρεσβύτας] πρεσβύτας καὶ νοσοῦντας Α^b fortasse
β α

recte 48,28 ἀξιῶν προνοίας] προνοίας ἀξιῶν Α^b

49,6 μᾶλλον om. Α^b 49,10 προδείξῃς] προδείξοις Α^b fortasse recte 49,11 ἔξεις] ἔξοις Α^b 49,14 αἰδῶ] αἰδῶ Α^b

50,4 τοιούτων] τῶν τ. Α^b 50,7 παρά] και παρά Α^b 50,7 τολμη-] hic desinit manus Α^b: textus pergīt in fol. 96^r

50,7 -θείσας] hic incipit denuo manus Α 50,9 τότε — 11 ἐβεβαιώθη in spatio ab Α vacuo relicto inseruit Α¹ 50,11 ἐβεβαιώθη P Α¹ e corr.: ἐβαιβ- Α 50,11 τῆς — 13/14 ὑπερνικᾶν in spatio ab Α vacuo relicto inseruit Α¹ 50,12 αὐθεντία] αὐθεντεία Α 50,15 οὐδέ] οὐδ' Α 50,15 οἱ τύραννοι] ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι Α

51,8 τοιοῦτον] τοιοῦτον ἄλλον Α 51,9 δ] ὦ Α recte 51,12 δὴ supra versum add. Α² 51,13 πλείους] πλείους οἶμαι Α 51,16 χρυσόν] τὸν χρ. Α

52,1 τοῖς] καὶ τοῖς Α 52,3 τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας ἐλευθέρως] ἐλ. τ. ἡμ. Α 52,5 νόμοι] λόγοι Α 52,6 πρόσκομα Α 52,16 ἃ] ἃ γε Α 52,17 αὐτοὺς φησιν] φησὶν αὐτοὺς Α 52,21 ἐμμεῖναι νόμοις] ν. ἐ. Α 52,22 κερδάνης ὀβολοὺς] ὀβολοὺς κερδάνης Α: supra δ. litteram β, supra κ. litteram α posuit Α² (Α¹?)

53,8 Χριστόν] Χ. αὐτόν Α 53,11 λημιοῖ] λημιῇ Α 53,18 καὶ πρὸς] καὶ τὸ πρὸς Α 53,21 χειρῶν P Α¹ e corr.: χειρῶν Α

54,3 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' Α 54,11 ἐντιθείς] αὐτοῖς ἐντιθείς Α 54,15 γρίφους] γρύφους Α 54,17 τίνος εὐνοίας in margine add. Α¹ 54,21 ὀρῶσιν] ὀρῶσι Α 54,26 ἔχεις] ἔλαχες Α 54,28 ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως in margine add. Α² (Α^x?)

55,2 φαύλως—ἔχων in rasura Α¹ 55,5 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Α recte 55,5 ἐξουσίαν in rasura Α¹ 55,8 μιμη] μιμῇ καὶ παράδειγμα ποιῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς Α: verba καὶ—ἀρχῆς expunxit Α² 55,10 τις] τίς Α 55,14 τις] τίς Α 55,16 ἀπολλύναι] ἀπολλύναι Α 55,17 τὸ δ'] τὸ (δέ) Α 55,18 τῇ om. Α

56,2 τί — 3 πονηρός om. A in fine paginae homoeoteleuti causa 56,4
 ιερέα P A² supra versum: ἐπίσκοπον A quod vocabulum expunxit A² 56,13
 ἐαυτοῖς] αὐτοῖς A 56,17 τοσοῦτον] -σοῦτο A 56,22 τις] τίς A 56,23 κερδάναι]
 κερδάναι A

57,4 τοῦ om. A 57,7 ἔροιτο] ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο A 57,11 ὑμῖν P A¹: ἡμῖν A

58,6 ἐκβάλλουσιν] ἐκβάλλουσι A 58,7 ἄγειν] ἀγαγεῖν A fortasse recte

59,1 ἀδικεῖς] οὐκ ἀδικεῖς A (fortasse A^x: οὖν ἀδικεῖς A?) 59,1/2 βοῶσι καὶ τὰ
 πράγματα] μέγα βοῶσι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα A 59,17 σοφοί] textus pergit in
 fol. 87^r 59,21 ἐπιτρέψης] ἐπιτρέψεις A 59,22 ἐπισφαλεῖς] ἐπισφαλεῖς αἱ ἐπίνοιαι
 αὐτῶν A: vocabula αἱ—αὐτῶν expunxit A²

60,2 εἴπη] εἴποις A 60,3 εἰς μέσον ἐνεγκόντα] ἐνεγκόντα εἰς μέσον A: supra ἐνεγ.
 litteram β, supra εἰς μ. litteram α posuit A² 60,8 τῷ—ἀμὴν add. A^x (A¹?)
 60,8 δέ om. A^x (A¹?)

1,1 τοὺς — 4 σωφρονεῖν] hoc fragmentum manus A^c praebet in fol. 87^v 1,1/2
 λύουσι νόμους] νομούς λύουσι A^c 1,4 πείσειε] ποίσειε A^c

III

I. Folio 99 of *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, the highest numbered of the *Discourse*, is followed by a *binio* (fols. 100—103). Only fols. 100^r—101^v of this *binio* are covered with writing by a hand similar to A and contemporary with it (see fig. 11).²⁰ They contain a curious fragment, starting in the middle of a sentence.

²⁰ According to Professor Irigoin (see note 8 *supra*), the watermark of fols. 100—103 is a battle-axe = Briquet no. 7505 (date: 1378). Similar watermarks are attested from 1354 on, cf. Mošin-Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi...*, no. 4701 ff.

Here is the text of the *Fragment*:

- 1 ... ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἰμώζεται καὶ βοήσει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μεστὰς δακρῶν
 ἀφήσει φωνάς, καὶ κάμψει μὲν δίκην κλοιοῦ τὸν τράχηλον, σάκκον
 δὲ καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρώσει, καὶ πᾶσαν οἴσει ταιλαιπωρίαν, ἵν' ἐλεθῇ,
 καὶ συγγνώμην ἐπισπάσῃται, καὶ τῆς εὐθύνης ἀπολυθῇ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τί πρὸς
 5 ταῦτα; ἀποστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαί
 σου καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖ. — καὶ πόθεν δῆλον, φησὶν, ὡς οἷς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω
 χαλεπῶς ἀπειλεῖ, πλεονεξίαν ἐγκαλῶν ἀπειλεῖ; — ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὺς διορθούμενος
 διάλυε, φησί, στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν
 συγγραφὴν ἄδικον διάσπα· τί τοῦτο καλῶν βίαιον συνάλλαγμα;
 10 ὅταν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐπ' ὦν ἔλκωμεν ἢ πράσιν μὴ βουλομένους. ὁ τοῖς
 πολλοῖς δεινὸν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀδικία τις εἶναι δοκεῖ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὺς τολμῶντας

TESTIMONIA:

2/3 cf. Is. 58:5.

5/6 cf. Is. 58:4 et Jer. 7:16; cf. Ps. 26(27):9;7.

8/9 cf. Is. 58:6.

VARIAE LECTIONES:

11 τίς

ἐχθρούς ἡγεῖται, καὶ ἀποστρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔφη τὸ πρόσωπον, τὸ
 ἐπιτεταμένον τοῦ μίσους δηλῶν. καὶ μὴν, ὅτι καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν αἰτούμενοις
 καὶ περὶ τούτου προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὀδυρομένοις οὐ προσέχειν φησίν,
 15 ἔξ ὧν ἐπήγαγεν ἔδειξε· μεταβαλόντας γὰρ ἂν τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν
 ῥίψαντας κέρδος δεῦτε, φησί, καὶ διαλεχθῶμεν καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν
 λευκανῶ· ὁ γὰρ μεταγνοῦσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἡδικήκασιν ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν, τούτου
 δηλὸς ἔστιν ἔτι τῆς πονηρίας ἐχομένους ἀποστερῶν. τίς οὖν ἔτι καταλείπεται
 20 πρόφασις τοῖς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς νόμους χρηματίζεσθαι βουλομένοις,
 Fol. 100^v οἱ δ' ἀπώλειαν ἀπόλλυνται || τὴν ἐσχάτην, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' αὐτό, τὸ κακῶς
 ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους, ὄφελος καὶ κέρδος ἡγοῦνται; ὁ μόνων εἶναι φαίην ἂν τῶν
 ἀνθρωποκτόνων δαιμόνων· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης κακίας τοῦτό γε, προῖκα
 βούλεσθαι εἶναι πονηρὸν, εἰ μὴ χρείας ἢ ἡδονῆς ἢ φήμης χάριν, ἢ τινος ἄλλου
 25 τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων εἶναι δοκούντων· ὥς ἂν τούτων οὐδὲν ἐλπίση
 τις, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάντων ἔνεκα σωφρονεῖν. ὑπὲρ οὗ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πλεονεξίαν
 τολμῶντες τὸ μάταιον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα θάνατον μὴ ἂν
 εἰδότες τολμᾶν, μήδ' οὕτως ἐκόντες τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ βάραθρον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν
 ἀμελετήτως τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοεῖν, τὸ δ' ἀγνοεῖν αἴτιον αὐτοῖς
 30 εἶναι τῆς τόλμης. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑμῖν μέμψαιτ' ἂν τις δικαίως, ὡ βουλή, τοῖς τῶν
 κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταῖς, οὓς ἔδει ταῦτα καὶ σκεψαμένους αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι,
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκειν τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας, σπουδὴν εἰσάγοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πράγματος, ὅσην εἰ τὸ πᾶν ἔδει τεῖχος ἀναστῆσαι καταπεσόν, ἢ τι τῶν κοινῶν
 ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ ἃ περιοφθέντα μεγάλους οἶσει κινδύνους τῇ πόλει· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 35 καθεύδουσιν ἐοίκατε, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνοι τοῖς ὀνείρασιν ἀσχολούμενοι τῶν
 ἀληθῶς ἐπικειμένων ὑμῖν κακῶν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε, καὶ ἃ τοῖς κατορθοῦσιν οὐδὲν
 ἢ μικρὸν ὄφελος ἔχει, περὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε βουλευόμενοι τῶν καιρίων κατα-
 φρονεῖτε. κἂν μὲν τις ληφθῇ συλήσας ἰδιώτην ἢ χρήματα ὀλίγα τῶν δημοσίων,
 εὐθύς δεινὰ ποιεῖτε, βοᾶτε, καταψηφίζεσθε, πᾶσαν δίκην ἐλάττω τῶν ἀδικημά-
 40 των ἡγεῖσθε καὶ λοιδορεῖσθε μέλλοντα πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄρμο-
 Fol. 101^r στήν· τοὺς δὲ κάκιστ' || ἀπολουμένους, ὧν ἔργα τὰ κατασχόντα δεινὰ τὴν
 πόλιν, δι' ὧν πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκόντες ἀδικίαν τὸν θεὸν ἐξέβαλον, οὐδ' ἡγεῖσθέ τι
 δεινὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' ὀφείλιν οὐδεμίαν δίκην; οὐδ' εἰ πειθοῖ μεταβάλλειν
 τὸν τρόπον, ἢ παύειν αὐτοὺς χρή καὶ τὴν φλόγα σβεννύειν, λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον

12 cf. Deut. 31:17; 32:20 et al.; cf. *testim. ad* 5/6.

16/17 cf. Is. 1:17–18.

21 cf. Deut. 4:26; 8:19; 30:18; cf. Ju. 6:4.

25 ἐλπίσει τίς

33 ἢ τί

39 καταψηφίζεσθαι cod.: -ε e corr.

40 ἡγεῖσθαι cod.: -ε e corr.

42 διῶν

42 τί

43 ωφεῖλιν e corr.!

44 σβεννύειν

- 45 ὑμῖν ἐνομίσθη, ἀλλὰ κἄν τις ὑμῶν μεταξύ τοιούτων μνησθῇ, καὶ ὥς δεῖ καθαίρειν
τὴν νόσον ἢ πάντα ἀπώλεσεν, ὥς τι μάταιον καὶ παρέλκον τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
ἐπεισάγων ἐπιτιμᾶται. ταῦτα νοῦν ἔχόντων; ταῦτα θεὸν εἰδόντων; ταῦτα
βουλομένων σφῶζεσθαι; καὶ τίνες ἂν ἤτε εἰ βασιλεῖ συνῆτε μὴ τιμῶντι πανταχοῦ
τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπετίμησε τῆς σιωπῆς, ὅτι κλαόντων πενήτων
50 καὶ βίαν ὀδυρομένων, οὔτε ἐπήλθετε τοῖς βιαίοις ὑμεῖς οὔτε προσηγγείλατε τῷ
τὰ τοιαῦτα κωλύειν καὶ βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ; οὐ πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσε διορθοῦ-
σθαι τῶν μὴ καλῶς πεπραγμένων ἕκαστον οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοι; τίς δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῶν
ὄρκων, καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ συμφέρον, ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα καὶ δράσειν καὶ ἔρειν
ὀμωμόκατε; ἢ νομίζετε τι μᾶλλον συνοίσειν ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπειδὴν ἴλεως ἦ, ἢ
55 τι βλάβος ἔσεσθαι μεῖζον ὅταν ἐκπολεμωθῇ; φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς
χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν γοῦν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γένησθε
καὶ λογίσασθε τί μὲν ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὰ δίκαια νομοθετῶν, τί δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ὁ
πείθων παρανομεῖν· καὶ ὥς ὁ μὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων, οὐ τῶν τὴν ψυχὴν
κοσμούντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς σῶμα φερόντων τῶν προσκαίρων τούτων
60 μόνος ὢν χορηγός, καὶ οὐ διαφθείρειν ἃ δέδωκεν—οὐ γὰρ εἰκός ἐστι τοῖς
Fol. 101v ἔργοις ἐπὶ || βουλεύειν αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ—ἀλλὰ σφῶζειν βουλούμενος ἡμῖν καὶ
χρήματα καὶ σώματα καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς, τὰ δίκαια κελεύει ποιεῖν· ὁ δὲ
πονηρὸς, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐδεπώποτε εἰργασμένος—οὔτε γὰρ βούλεται,
πολέμιος ὢν ἐξαρχῆς, οὔτ' ἂν ἐδυνήθη βουλευθεῖς, κύριος ὢν οὐδενός, ὅτι
65 δοῦλός ἐστι, καὶ οὗτος δραπέτης—ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄντων παρὰ θεοῦ βασκαίνων
ὑμῖν, ἵνα γυμνώσῃ, τὴν ἀδικίαν εἰσάγει, ὥς πάντα ἀπολλύναι πάντων μάλιστα
δυναμένην. καὶ τοίνυν πράττομεν ἀθλιώτατα πάντων, ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ
τούτου δεδαπανημένοι θηρίου· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἱ μᾶλλον εἰσεκώμασεν, οὐδ'
ἔστιν εἰπεῖν οὗς χεῖρον διέθηκε. ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες, καὶ ὥς εἰ μὴ ταχέως τοῦτο
70 πανταχόθεν ἐξέλοιτε, πᾶσιν ἐμφωλεῖον καὶ λυμαινόμενον, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάντα
οἴχεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι λοιπὸν περὶ ὧν βουλεύσεσθε, εἰς ἔργον ἤδη χωρεῖτε
καὶ μὴ μέλετε· ὥς οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι, κακὸν αἰεὶ προϊὼν σήμερον καὶ αὔριον
ἐπισχεῖν.

At the beginning of the *Fragment* the author quotes the scriptures, and objects to forcing weaker people (τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους) to sell and buy against their will. Yet some men <the chief adversaries> refuse to give up their ill-gotten gains; they conduct business against the precepts of Justice and Law <by forcing the weaker ones to buy and sell>. But money (χρημάτων) obtained in such a way

55/56 cf. Heb. 10:31.

45 ὑμῖν supra versum

46 μатаι cod.: ματαιον e corr.

52 τίς

53 ὄρκων

54 ὀμωμόκατε cod.: -τε e corr.

54 ἐπειδ ἂν

63 οὐδὲ πώποτε

66 ἀπολλύναι

72 μέλετε

brings no advantage to anyone, only utter damnation to the adversaries. The author refers to these people as "daring to commit acts of greed (πλεονεξία)." He then addresses the Council (βουλή), also called Supervisors of Community (State?) Affairs (τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταῖς). They should attend to the matter at hand since it is one of utmost gravity. Instead, they neglect it and concentrate on problems which are trifling by comparison, such as thefts and petty embezzlements. When it comes to these secondary matters, the Supervisors upbraid the Governor of the City (πόλεως ἄρμοστήν) for his procrastination, but they stand idly by and watch the sinister activities of the chief adversaries go unpunished. It is they who have reduced the city to its present deplorable state by introducing injustice and banishing God. If someone draws the Supervisors' attention to this highly unhealthy situation, they deem his remarks unimportant. This is insane and suicidal behavior. One imagines how <much worse> the Supervisors would behave, if the Emperor were not a lover of Justice! He has often taken the Supervisors to task, for they have refused to prosecute the offenders (βιαιοίς = chief adversaries) and failed to notify him of the offenders' misdeeds, while poor people lamented the violence inflicted upon them; he was willing and able to prevent this violence. He even enjoined everybody to eliminate all irregularities. The Supervisors also took an oath (ὅρκων and ὁμωμόκατε) to work for the benefit (συμφέρον) <of the community as a whole>. The author exhorts them to come to their senses and choose between God and the Devil: God wishes to preserve spiritual and material values—which include the <Supervisors' own> offices; the Devil, to bring about utter destruction by introducing injustice. If the present state of affairs is hopeless, it is because of the Devil, who preys upon the author's compatriots more than upon anybody else. In view of this, the Supervisors should act without delay. Otherwise a general collapse may ensue and they will be left with nothing about which to deliberate. The evil is increasing every day; tomorrow may be too late.

2. It is risky to make a positive statement about a truncated Byzantine speech. The risk is doubled when the fragment is a peroration, containing only imprecise allusions to the preceding subject matter of the speech. I shall, however, assume that the *Fragment* is unpublished. I shall also suggest that, before finding their way into *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* may have been among Cabasilas' papers, and that the *Fragment* may have been composed by him. The first of these suggestions is prompted by the draft character of the *Discourse* and by the proximity of the *Fragment* to the *Discourse* in *Parisinus Gr. 1276*; the second by similarities in thought, form, and language between the two texts.

We find in both the F(*ragment*) and the D(*iscourse*), a final exhortation to take the side of God rather than that of the Devil, who is incapable of any good action (F 56/58; 62/65; D 59; cf. 59,19/20); the thought that the adversaries' actions are unprofitable in addition to being morally wrong (F 18/21; D 23) and that they lead the adversaries to damnation (F 21; D 29,1); the idea that nobody would do evil without hoping to obtain some ad-

vantage thereby (F 23/25: D 23,15/18); the mock assumption that the adversaries act out of ignorance (F 26/30: D 1,2; 7); and the accusation that they “banish God” (F 42: D 30,6/9; cf. 21,25). Once in the *Fragment* (6/7) the author adduces the adversary’s objection, recognizable by the φησὶν embedded in it. This device, which must have been used throughout the missing parts of the text, is also adopted in the *Discourse* and in Cabasilas’ treatise *Against Usurers*.

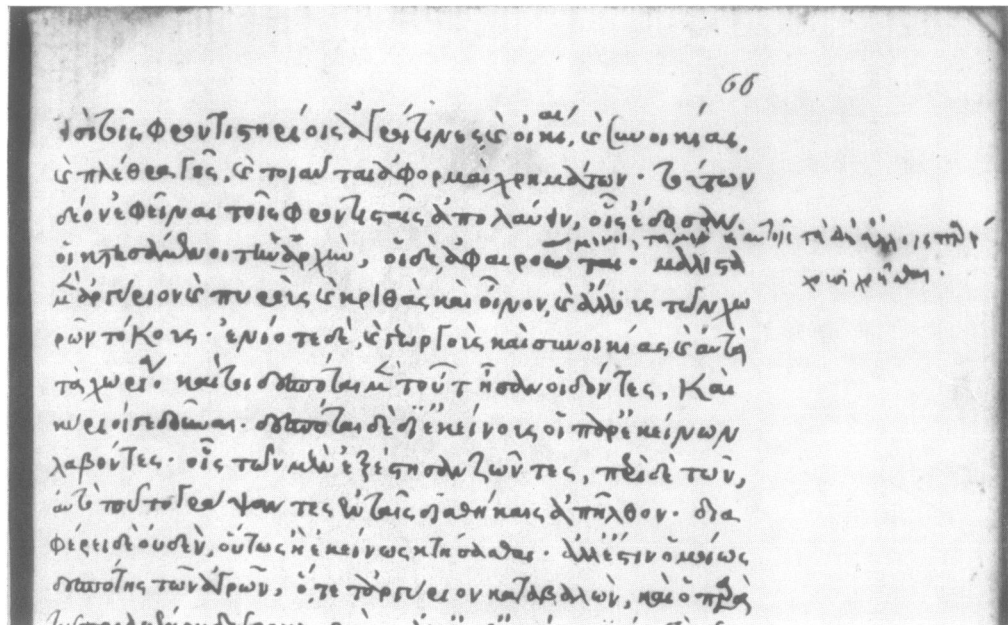
Finally, in both phrasing and vocabulary the number of similarities shown by the *Fragment* and Cabasilas’ treatises goes beyond what, in my opinion, one would expect from juxtaposing texts belonging to the same genre but written by different authors. The victims of the adversaries are called ἀσθενεστέρους (F 10 and D 51,4); they are given to lamenting: βίαν ὀδυρομένων (F 50), cf. βοῶντας καὶ ὀδυρομένους (D 38,32/33). The adversaries are πλεονεξίαν τολμῶντες (F 26/27) and πλεονέκτας (D 28,3; cf. 49,3) respectively; also, βιαιοὶς (F 50) and βίαιος (D 21,30); their criminal exactions are described as χρηματίζεσθαι (F 19) or χρηματιζόμενος (D 52,12). The expression ὦνῃν καὶ (ἡ) πρᾶσιν occurs in both texts (F 10: D 34,26); so does μὴ βουλομένους ‘against the will’ (F 10: D 38,18; 46,18; cf. 41,24); τὸ πονηρὸν ῥίψαντας κέρδος ‘having abandoned the ill-gotten gains’ (F 15/16) is paralleled by ἅπαν κέρδος ... ἂν ἔρριψας in *Discourse*, 52,13 (cf. 31,7) and by ῥίψεις τοὺς τόκους in *Against Usurers*, Migne, PG, CL, 749B. For παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς νόμους (F 19), compare τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ (D 47,3) and τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς νόμους (D 25,9); for τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὸ βάραθρον (F 28), compare ζητεῖς βάραθρον (Migne, PG, CL, 733A) and ἄξιοι ... βαράθρων (D 33,9); for the expression τεῖχος ἀναστῆσαι ... ἡ ἐπανορθῶσαι (F 33/34), compare τευχῶν ἀνορθώσεις (D 20,19) and τεῖχος ... ἀνορθούμενον (D 21,15). The thought that the adversaries ‘banished God,’ τὸν θεὸν ἐξέβαλον (F 42), occurs twice in the *Discourse*: in the First Version, where the phrase is ἀμφισβητεῖν τῷ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ... τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάλλειν (30,6/7), and in the Second, where it reads τὸν θεόν ... ἐκβάλλεις (21,25). Stress is laid in both the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* on τὸ συμφέρον (F 53: D 47,4). The adversaries have taken (and broken) an oath: ὁμωμόκατε (same form in F 54 and in D 38,7; cf. 39,17).

3. The *Fragment* may deal with pressures brought to bear by large landowners upon smaller ones, a process watched by conniving or powerless central authorities, or it may be concerned with other issues. In any case, both the *Fragment* and the *Discourse* deal with social tension in late Byzantium. Both may even refer to the same situation and take up the defense of monasteries. True, in the *Fragment* there is not a single explicit reference to attacks on monastic property or to simoniac ordinations, only to the “poor” (πένητες) and the “weaker” (ἀσθενέστεροι). But if only 49 and 51 of the *Discourse* had been preserved, we would have no means of identifying the “poor” and the “weaker” of these paragraphs as monks.²¹ The feeling of impending doom is not ex-

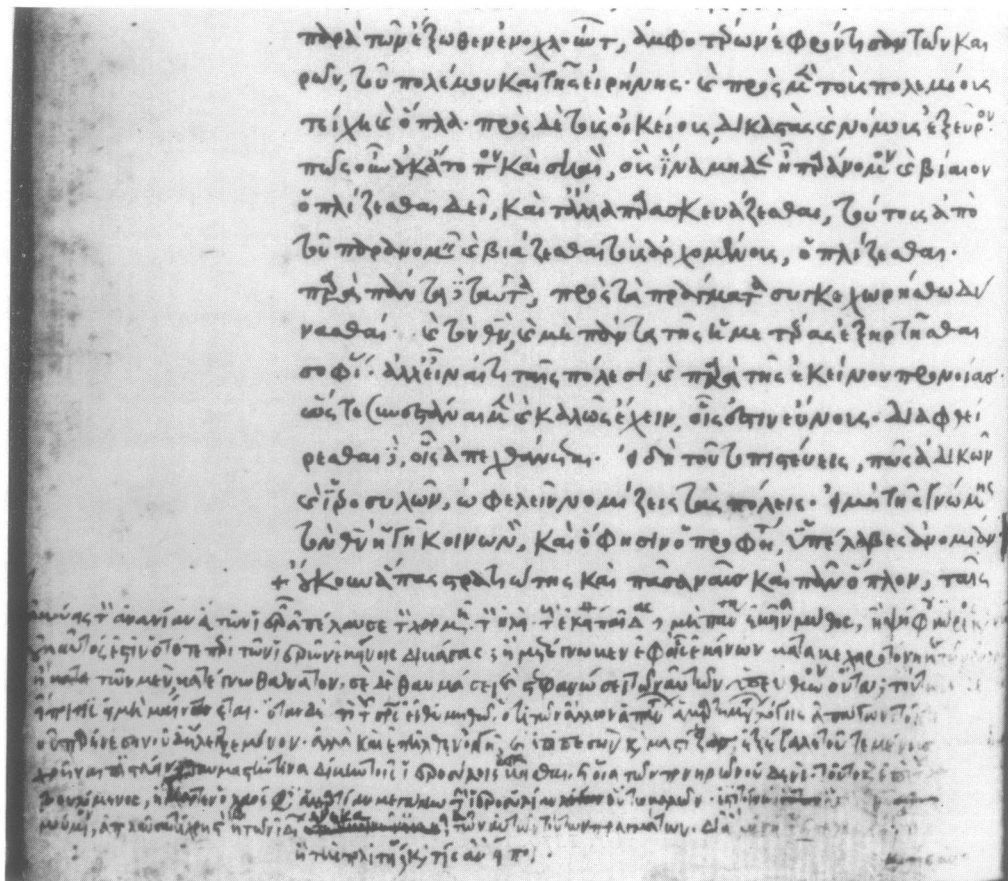
²¹ *Fragment*, 38/43 implies that the misfortune befalling the “poor” and the “weaker” is of more importance than the injustice suffered by a mere ἰδιώτης. Is it not so because the “poor” are people of some consequence, or of a status different from that of the ἰδιῶται? The author of the *Fragment* may include himself among the persecuted “poor.” Cf. ἡμᾶς of line 43.

ἰδῶμαι πληρ τοῖς προσώτοις, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετ' ὑπομένοντες
 τοῦτον, διασπασθὲν ἐβόαν, ὡς πρὸς τε μνηστικοί. ἀλλοί
 ἔτι, τὰ αὐτῶν ποιοῦντων, ἔτι μετὰ αὐτοῖς ἐσώφορος, μετὰ
 πρῶται νοῦν δύνουσι. οὐ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς
 οὐ χεῖρες ἰσχυρὰς φάρμακον, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἡμετέρων
 ἐφίλων. ἀλλὰ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δὲ δὴ μετὰ
 ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον νόμῳ ἐξέφασκεν ἔχοντα. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲ προσφθ
 ἐκ μετὰ χάλινω τὰς στήθας, αὐτῶν δὲ γὰρ τῶν μετὰ
 ζόντων περὶ σὲ. ὑπολοιποὶ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν βίαν, τοῖς
 μετὰ τὸν παλαιότατον. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡδιστάς τας πρὸς τὸν ὄρον
 οἱ σοφοὶ τεῖς ἐστὶν χρεῖς, ἐπὶ πάντ' βούλονται τὸν μετὰ
 μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς. ἡ τὴν κοινὴν ἐπὶ στήθας φύσιν, ὡς ἀμὲν
 χαρομένη δὲ ἀπὸ πάντ' ἰδῶμαι. ἐννομεῖται οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν
 χρεῶν εἶναι τὸ μακροτέρον. ἐπὶ τὴν δὲ δασύτητα τοῦ ἀφ' ἑ
 οὔτε αὐτῶν, οὔτε χάλινω. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν τὴν
 μετὰ. λέγω μετὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκαστὴν αὐτοῖς. ἐπὶ τὴν
 κατὰ τὸν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφίλων οἱ πρὸς τὴν
 δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀσκήσαντες, ὁμοιογενεῖς χεῖν τὴν ἀ
 κούσι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκαστὴν τῶν ψυχῶν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον, τὴν μετὰ
 ἐκαστὴν οὐκ ἀπορῶσαι. ~~ἀλλὰ τὴν δὲ δασύτητα~~
~~ἀλλὰ τὴν δὲ δασύτητα~~ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀσκήσαντες. ἐπὶ τὴν
 πρὸς τὴν, ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν. ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν ἐκαστὴν ἀπὸ τὴν
 τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τοῖς τιμῆσι προσεδρεύοντες ἐπὶ τὴν
 νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τὴν. ἀλλὰ τὴν τὴν γινώσκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀπὸ τὴν. ἀλλὰ τὴν τὴν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὠνησάμεν
 ἡσυχάζοντες, τὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀλλὰ τὴν, οὕτως ἡ ἐκαστὴν ἐπὶ τὴν. ἀλλὰ τὴν
 χάλινω τὴν ἀπὸ τὴν, ὅτι τὴν τὴν κατὰ τὴν, ἐπὶ τὴν

ἐβόραθεν ἡ π
 βίωτα χεῖρες δὴ



2. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 66^r, top: Hands A and A²



3. *Parisinus Gr. 1276*, fol. 75^v, bottom: Hands A and A²

100

οἱ, γὰρ, οἱ μὲν ζῶσι καὶ βοήσῃ· καὶ πρὸς τῷ, μὲν
 λακύνων ἀφύσσηφωναί. καὶ καμψιμὴν δίκην
 κλοιοῦ τῷ τεταλινον, σάκκου δὲ καὶ σποδὸν ἄπο τῆς
 σῆ, ἡ πᾶσαν οἷσι ταλαιπωρίαν, ἵν' ἐλεῇ θῆ, καὶ (νῆ)
 γνῶμιν ὁππῶς αὐτῇ, καὶ τῆς εὐθύνῃς ἀπολυθῇ.
 ὁ δὲ εἴ, τί περὶ ταῦτα· ἀποτρεῖψτο πρὸς σὺν μὲν
 ἀποδοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἡσάκοισμαί, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁρῇ.
 καὶ πότερ δὴ λόγος φησὶν, ὡς οἷε ὁ θεὸς οὕτω χαλεπῶς,
 ἀπὸ λαῖ, πλεονεξίαν ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθ'· ὁ δὲ αὖ αὐτῷ
 ἀπορροῦμενος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον φησὶν ἀνταχμὰς βλαίων (βλα)
 λαγμάτων, καὶ πᾶσαν (νῆ) φῶ ἀδίκον ἀλῶσα.
 τί τοῦτο καλῶν βλαίων σὺν ἀλλαγῇ· ὅταν τοι
 ἀσθενεῖς ἔσθῃς, ἐπὶ πῶν ἔλκωμεν ἡ πρῶσιν, μὴ
 βουλομένους· ὅτοις πολλοῖς ἀνὸν οὐδὲν, οὐδ'·
 ἀλλ' ἡμῶς τίς ἐστιν ἀποκῆ· ὁ δὲ εἴ, τοῖς τολμῶντας, ἐχθρ
 ἡγῆται· καὶ ἀποτρίφῃ ἀπὸ πάντων ἐφ' ὅσον πρὸς σὺν.
 τοῖς δὲ ταμένοντος μίσση δειλῶν· καὶ μὲν, ὅτι
 καὶ ἀμάρτην ἀφ' ἐσθ' αὐτοῦ μένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 πρὸς τὸ πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδυρομένοις, οὐ πρὸς
 χεῖν φησὶν, ὁ δὲ αὖ ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐν, ἐλθῇ· μετὰ βλαπ
 τὰρ αὖ τῶν τεύχεων, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ῥίψαντας ὁδ
 δος, δεῦτε φησὶ καὶ ἀλαλεχθῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάρ
 τίας ἡμῶν ἀκακῶν· ὅταν μὲν γνοῖσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐλ
 κη καὶ ἐπὶ ἡ γέλατο δώσῃν, τοῦτο δὴ λόγος ἐστίν,
 ἐπὶ τῇς πικρίας ἐχομένοις ἀποτρίφῃν· σὺν οὖν
 ἐπὶ καταλήψει πρὸς φάσις τοῖς πρῶτα τοῖς δικαιῶν
 καὶ τοῖς νόμοις χρηματίζεσθαι βουλομένοις, ἡ
 τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τούτων, ὡς φέλας οὐδὲ μίαν οὐδ'
 σὺν ἐστὶν εὐρῆν οὐδ' ἀμῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς

ceptional for the period to which I would assign the *Fragment*. In the mid-fourteenth century, it is shared by Alexius Macrembolites²² and the Patriarch Philotheus.²³ One might even toy with the idea that the *Fragment* is the final part of a discarded variant of the *Discourse*. But it may be safer to abandon this notion. In any case I do not find sufficient clues for a coherent interpretation of the *Fragment*. For the present, I shall merely describe it as the final part of a treatise, perhaps by Nicolas Cabasilas, in which we read of evildoers who force poor people to “sell and buy,” of high officials who acquiesce in these evil machinations while eagerly prosecuting petty criminals and prodding the Governor of the City to act quickly against them, of the just Emperor who upbraids the high officials for their passive attitude towards the main culprits and, finally, of well-intentioned people, including the author of the fragment, who unsuccessfully point out to the high officials the grave dangers of this situation.

²² In the “Lament on the Collapse of St. Sophia” (date: 1346), Macrembolites awaits the Last Judgment: ἡμῖν . . . τοῖς τὴν ἀνέσπερον ἐκείνην ἐκδεχομένοις ἡμέραν. *Sabbaiticus Gr.* 417, fol. 110^v.

²³ In a letter to the inhabitants of Heracleia (date: Spring of 1352), *edd.* C. Triantafyllis-A. Grapputo, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. Bibliothecae S. Marci* (1874), esp. p. 43, Philotheus draws a depressing picture of the Empire, with “ten or twenty cities or strongholds” still remaining: ὅτι δὲ πόλεις καὶ φρούρια δέκα ἢ εἴκοσιν ὑπελείφθησαν σωζόμενα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πολιορκούμενα καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ψυχορράγοντα καθημέραν, ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοκρίσι. . . ; the end of the world is drawing near: κατ’ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὑποῖσκει καὶ φθείρεται σχεδὸν ὅλον . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφιβάλοι τῶν τὰ θεῖα πεπαιδευμένων τὴν καθόλου συντέλειαν ἐπὶ θύραις εἶναι . . .